Western Europe cries out: Americans, leave us alone!

At the Democratic convention
"One is terrified by these aboriginal manifestations . . ."

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

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WAR & PEACE

NATO 50-division war dream fades as Europe balks

THE North Atlantic Treaty Organization, blueprinted at Lisbon in February, looked more and more last week like a man (Washington) trying to drive a sick and balky mule (the West European "partners")—or a bad case of irresistible force and immovable object. After Britain and France had frankly said fulfilment of their part of the program was impossible, Robert S. Allen reported (8/9) that

> **. . . the Joint Chiefs of Staff are preparing to vigorously challenge British and French demands for another slowdown in defense buildup.**

In Paris NATO chief Gen. Ridgway insisted the "partners" could fulfil their '52 goals, adding darkly that he had "no reliable evidence that the potential threat of armed aggression has in any way abated." (After Gen. Gruenther's statement last March before the Senate Foreign Relations Comm. that over-all Soviet armed forces have not increased since 1947, Ridgway could hardly rattle the bones any louder to scare the "partners.")

BELGIUM CUTS ARMY: But within 24 hours Ridgway had reliable evidence that the '52 goals for NATO land forces would not be met—at least by one, and probably by four or more divisions.

In Belgium, which alone of NATO countries had imposed a two-year conscription period, strikes and demonstrations and "minor mutinies among troops" (**U. S. News,** 8/15) forced the government to demand that France, Holland, Luxembourg and Italy increase their military service to the same period. When they refused, Belgium cut its conscription period to 21 months. But already the day before this development **AP,** surveying from Washington the economic woes of the other NATO countries, summed up: "North Atlantic Treaty Goal Looks Impossible" (8/12).

(Continued on Page 3)

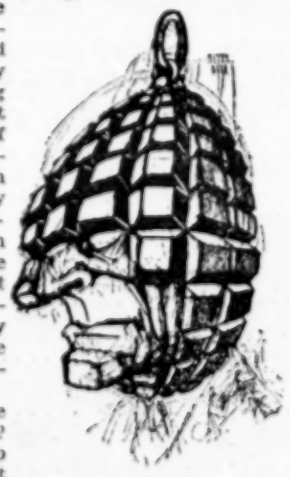
What are the feelings toward America of the peoples of Europe, as Washington's rearming policy drives their economies nearer and nearer to bankruptcy? How do they feel about the recent Democratic and Republican conventions, both of which resolved to continue the same ruinous policy and enforce it on our "allies"? A few European commentators are willing to speak frankly: statements by two of them in France—Claude Bourdet, editor of the "neutralist" Observateur, and the editors of the sober monthly of socialist analysis Cahiers Internationaux, are excerpted below.

(Bourdet's article, entitled "A Letter to Americans," appeared in the July 17 Observateur. The Cahiers excerpt is from the July-Aug. issue.)

By Claude Bourdet

DESPITE official oratory you are dissatisfied and uneasy at not being "liked" by those whom you assist. You complain, for example, of the ingratitude of Europeans, in particular the French. Encouraged by the incense-bearers and sycophants whom you maintain here, you attribute that lack of grace to our graceless nature.

I do not know whether Gen. Eisenhower really said the French were 50% atheists and decadents; but that would not be an extraordinary point of view among you. In your own way it sums up the truth of that recent French public opinion survey which your friends are busy trying to suppress, according to which in France 60 to 70% are neutralist by sentiment at least. And you understand that it will be very difficult to make these neutralists into passionate Atlantic soldiers.



France d'Abord, Reims
General Ridgway

Do you have any more chance in Germany? There are almost no commitments there; yet how strange it must be for you to have to admit that more than half the people—almost all their youth and their workers—do not want the arms you offer. You will certainly take note of that humiliating ingratitude. You will return that people to their former military masters who, at least, are willing to accept those arms. But to do what with them? You yourselves wonder, and you sometimes admit that you are not so sure of the fidelity of their alliance.

You can certainly count more on Britain, which gains more than others and risks far less in remaining your ally. But the vast tide of criticism, the muffled disaffection toward you which grows in slow-moving England, you cannot ignore.

EUROPE does not believe in your promises, trembles at every one of your gestures; Asia and Africa despise you, for you have become the allies of their ancient exploiters. Is that all that your wealth and what was often your genuine generosity can bring you?

No doubt you can continue on the road. You will be more and more armed, stronger and stronger, more and more praised by governments you maintain and by the money press (your money or simply Money). You will also be more and more estranged from the peoples, and so more and more isolated. Out of your strength and these artificial alliances will rise your stubbornness; out of your real isolation, the stubbornness of your adversaries. For all this, we shall all of us one day have to pay the price. On that day perhaps you will discover that it would have been better to have had less arms, less flatterers and more friends.

BENEATH all the dollars and armaments, you are stifling liberty, life and the very soul of peoples who were your friends. Because of this I ask you quite simply: leave us alone, that is best. Leave us alone—you must do it in your own interests as much as in ours.

. . . Leave us alone so we can rid ourselves of a press that is not your friend, merely your spokesman—and of governments of valets who hate you with servility. What is above all necessary for you, whatever your politics, is to know the truth about Europe. You will never get anything from the present leaders of our countries except the echo of your own desires reflected in their begging.

. . . Leave us alone: be what you are, with your splendid qualities and tremendous faults, a people as extreme in everything as your Soviet enemy. Be yourselves, but be it at home.

By the editors of "Cahiers Internationaux"

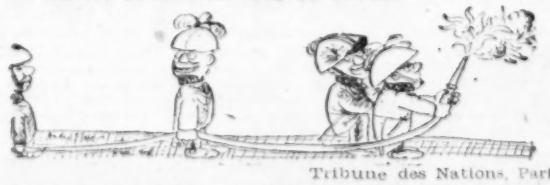
WHAT honest person has not been troubled by the press reports from Chicago? Howlings, scalp dances, sirens and scuffles reduced to a simple primitivism by the noise of trumpets; elephants serenaded by pin-up girls with virtue as sparse as their dress; this stupefying spectacle with the characteristics of a circus midway, a students' ball and a tom-tom ceremonial—can it really be the solemn assembly charged with setting forth the program and choosing the leader of the West's most powerful state?

These men, these women stomping and shrieking for 30 or 40 minutes without drawing breath as they threw paper streamers and confetti to acclaim their candidate—but who voted in favor of the party platform in 2½ minutes: they were delegated by that minority of citizens who interest themselves in public life. These people are the ones with the greatest maturity. . . . When one reads the description of these groups, each one seeking to drown out the voice of the other with the name of its favorite, one is terrified by the aboriginal character of these manifestations of brute force and by the mental mechanism they reveal.

IT is this nation, it is these people that think they have a mission to be the leader of humanity. Of course in Europe, too, conventions of an impassioned kind are not unknown, in which insults are sometimes mingled with arguments; but never have these degenerated into mere blarings of trumpets—except perhaps during the recent past when certain parties have sought to draw the masses by a quasi-mechanical appeal to the surviving animalness in man. Where, where is democracy?

. . . Whether it is Eisenhower who gets chosen to lead what he calls "the crusade for freedom in the world," or whether it is his Democratic rival, it is horribly certain that this "liberty" will be, above all, freedom for the banks.

The Republicans in power will continue to stress their stranglehold over Western Europe "integrated" around Germany. The Democrats in power will continue to exhibit their aggressiveness in Asia to please the Republicans. None of these violent political struggles places partisans of a peaceful solution against partisans of the arms race. There is no conflict save over the priority of battlegrounds or the choice of instruments of death.



Tribune des Nations, Paris
"If we tell them it's gasoline, where would be the surprise?"

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THE MAIL BAG

Both of 'em the same

READING, PA.

The Eisenhower vs. Stevenson "contest" recalls to mind:

Back in the days when the Union idea was germinating among the "lint tops" (contemptuous name for workers in the semi-feudal textile mill villages in the South), one smart owner figured to forestall organization in his mill by holding "elections" for a company union. When the workers rushed news of this move to the Textile Union headquarters, they were advised to watch which side the Boss favored most and then vote exactly the same way — opposite. Following election day, an organizer came to learn the outcome of the "elections." He was told "We ain't voted neither one side nor t'other." He remonstrated with the workers. "Weren't you told to see which side the Boss favored and then vote exactly the same way — opposite?" "That's just it," they explained; "the Boss, he favor both sides of 'em the same."

Well, they got their own union in the end. And we have the Progressive Party. Come on folks, let's make it Hallinan and Bass, 'cause the bosses favor Eisenhower and Stevenson, "both sides of 'em the same." Lawrence Gellert

A great leader

BELLFLOWER, CALIF.

Glad to hear Rev. Stephen Fritchman of Los Angeles' 1st Unitarian Church (of which I am a member) and Belfrage met during the latter's visit to California. We think of Mr. Fritchman as a truly great leader — a humanist whose warm sympathies, courage in action and power with words are doing much to maintain peace and make possible human progress here and now —at the same time building for the better future.

This is true too, of course, of the GUARDIAN. When such forces work together, it seems that broad new areas of support must be forthcoming. (Mrs.) Ruth P. Koshuk

Better than Goebbels

WINTER PARK, FLA.

The case of the six Baltimore Communists represents a still further and most dangerous narrowing of the protection of the Bill of Rights. If mere CP membership without proof of subversive activity by one accused is upheld as a crime, not only will this party have been effectively outlawed but the way will have been opened "when the time comes" to filling the McCarran concentration camps with people vaguely described in the Smith Act as "affiliate." This may well be held to mean all persons who supported the organizations named on the Atty. General's list as "front organizations."

If the provision regarding publication and distribution of literature is upheld, publishers may well hesitate to publish such classics as Das Kapital, the Communist Manifesto, Sorel's Reflections on Violence, etc. Professors may hesitate even to distribute the Manifesto to economics classes. In short, the Nazis burned the books; we may be going further and preventing them from being made ready to burn.

Royal W. France

How crazy can you get dept.

Some day in the future it may be that the flying saucers—still assuming them to be manned by human beings from outer space—will succeed in making contact with our world. If and when that times comes it is beyond all things important that the contact be on this side of the iron curtain with people speaking our language and possessing our ideology.

Detroit Free Press, Aug. 10.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: H. B., Detroit.

Four more sons

McINTOSH, MINN.

Wouldn't be without you. The issue with pictures and all of the PP Convention was grand. My husband and I were delegates but unable to go as our son was home on leave. He is now shipped out to Japan to feed the wolves of war. If they would remove those fangs of hate then all this hell would soon abate. They say, an elephant never forgets and a Missouri mule is just plumb ornery, and there are plenty of jack-asses running for office. Well, we've been living with the animals long enough—killing without reason and turning up our noses at other races.

So it's good we have a party with real people for a change. We have four more sons. . . .

Mrs. David Fryer

The "mysterious" East

BRISBANE, CALIF.

A letter from China Monthly Review says the magazine is being held up by the post office dept.; complaints have come in from Johns Hopkins, Detroit Public Library, U. of Michigan, etc. This is especially bad, as editorials in S.F. Chronicle make it clear that gang is bent on war with China. Their editorial Aug. 3 advocating a Chiang "reinvasion": "We believe the Chinese people, in overwhelming numbers, would flock to the Nationalist standard and turn upon those who came proclaiming panaceas and wound up by stripping the peasants of their very birthright."

And yet the same paper (Aug. 10) carried this AP story: "UN reports indicate important economic advances are being made in Red China despite participation in the Korea war. This . . . is generally accepted both by UN economists and by Chinese Nationalists. . . . Industrial production has reached or excelled previous peak year levels in many industries. . . . There has been a sharp rise in employment."

This story appeared on the back page of the sporting section—but was omitted in later editions the same day. Louise H. Horr

Nearing's tour

ROYAL OAK, MICH.

Scott Nearing and wife are planning a trip by car to the west coast in October and are asking for meeting places. World Events has been very generous in urging subs for the GUARDIAN, and its current issue has another boost for you. I think both Nearing and F. A. Blossom would appreciate it if the GUARDIAN reciprocated by asking its readers in Wisconsin, Minnesota, N. D. and Montana, to write Nearing at Harborside, Maine, for dates. He makes no stated charge for his talks, depending solely on collections and book sales for his expenses. D. L. Todd

GUARDIAN and PP

MOBERLY, MO.

Suggest your print an exact statement of the relations of the GUARDIAN and the PP. Some think it is a party paper. As I get it, you are independent, but generally support the PP, and the PP Natl. Committee has made support of the GUARDIAN an official policy.

(Rev.) David W. Janes

Correct. We just naturally like each other. Ed.

Barrier or Bridge?

HADDAN, KAN.

How many GUARDIAN readers have read "Religion, Barrier or Bridge?" I have read it and it's terrific. It is an eye-opener concerning the false use of God's word, to further a fascist regime.

Ruby G. Heck

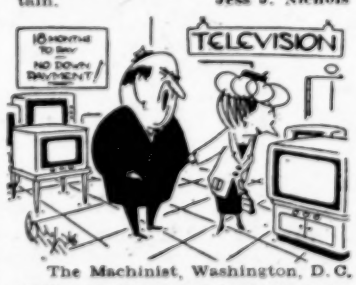
Hate moves on Laredo

BINGHAM CANYON, UTAH

For two years I had the honor of being business agent for Local 412, Mine-Mill, at Laredo, Tex. I have hundreds of fine and true friends both in Laredo, Tex., and across the river in Nueva Laredo, Mexico. Most of my life has been spent working for the mining industry, and with the unions along the border.

I found the deep feeling of friendship more heartily expressed between the peoples of both countries in the twin Laredo cities than at any other portal cities on the border. And now the forces of hate have moved into that peaceable community to sow their awful seeds of discord and suspicion.

Let us refrain from gnashing our teeth over far-off iron curtains until such time that our remaining forces of democracy decide to construct a torch of the people and by the people of sufficient size to cut peep holes in our own iron curtain. Jess J. Nichols



The Machinist, Washington, D.C.

"It's not just the installments. We can't even afford the 'No Down Payment'!"

More the merrier

BURBANK, CALIF.

I do hope GUARDIAN readers caught the significance of Mr. R. J. Piper's letter in the July 10 Mail Bag. Piper says he "gets so many letters from New York wanting money for one thing or another that he often wishes a lot of them had never heard of him." Well, I get them too, and in scraping the bottom of the barrel, find I have to pick out a few to help that I consider the most necessary. But the important fact to realize is that every one of those requests is from a committee of people fighting for what we as progressives believe in. So the more requests the better, indicating more and more challenge to the terrible happenings to and in our country today. Let us hope these fighters expand and increase. Like Piper, I also want the GUARDIAN to continue its good work. Encised find $2. R. O. Stowe

"Philosophy of Peace"

COSTA MESA, CALIF.

If one wishes to read a thoughtful study of Soviet-American relations, written by an educator interested in truth and fact, he should get "The Philosophy Of Peace," by Dr. John Somerville, (Gaer Associates, N.Y.) For 50 years I have read the Socialist and Communist classics, but nowhere have I read anything as compelling and inspiring.

Dr. Ralph R. Sackley, 6214 N. Withrop Av., Chicago 40, Ill., recently bought 600 copies wholesale, and he is distributing them prepaid at $1.50 each.

George B. Shoaf

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Vol. 4, No. 44 — 178 — AUGUST 21, 1952

REPORT TO READERS

Up Hallinan!

A NEWS EVENT of deep importance to at least a million Americans—and to people all over the world—took place last Sunday morning, Aug. 17, at a place called Steilacoom, Wash.

Vincent Hallinan, Progressive Party candidate for President, stepped off a launch from McNeil's Island federal prison, after serving nearly five months for contempt of court during his defense of labor leader Harry Bridges in the most celebrated labor frame-up case of our time.

For New Yorkers, the New York **Times** carried a three-inch story buried on an inside page. For people in communities not fortunate enough to have a "comprehensive" paper like the **Times**, the event was not covered at all.

Thus the only Peace candidate in the 1952 U.S. presidential elections entered upon his campaign with probably not more than 2% of American newspaper readers being made aware of it.

IN HIS OWN PERSONAL EFFORT to break through the press-radio blackout on the Peace Campaign, Vincent Hallinan intends to make five speeches a day, as far and wide as he can travel in the ten weeks remaining before Election Day. For all the months he has been in prison, his running mate, Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass; his wife Vivian, and even the oldest of his six boys, have been carrying on the campaign—with almost complete disregard by the press.

The newspapers which will bring news of this stirring campaign to 1952 voters are precious few throughout America, and the GUARDIAN is unique among them in that it already reaches readers in more than 4,000 communities in every state.

Hallinan is in the fight in person now. What he and his campaigners say and do deserves to reach the voters just as certainly as Stevenson's equivocations on civil rights and labor and Eisenhower's plans to "liberate" a third of humanity which is already busy liberating itself.

ONLY YOU can bring the campaign for Peace, Freedom and Security to your neighbors. And this paper intends to do everything it can to continue providing a reliable means at rock-bottom cost.

The 4-for-$1 campaign subscription coupon at the bottom of this page offers a quick and easy way for you to help with this job.

—THE EDITORS

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50-division war dream is fading

(Continued from Page 1)

BREAD PREFERRED: U.S. News (8/15) explained it this way:

> Plan was to get 50 combat-effective and reserve divisions ready to defend Europe by the end of this year. By 1954 there were to be 100 divisions. Now both target dates have been abandoned. . . . Troubles all over Europe are arising from the fact that Europeans do not particularly like what the U.S. is trying to give them. Gift arms do not have the same appeal as gift bread.

Newsweek (8/18) reported the trouble from Paris:

> The black-market price of the franc had slipped from 385 to 425 to the $. Money-changing touts around the Place de l'Opera were doing a brisk business with thousands of wide-eyed, foot-sore American tourists. [Premier] Pinay's "save the franc" campaign faced disastrous defeat.

BRITAIN—STILL LESS FOOD: From London, where Commons had adjourned for 10 weeks telling the world Britain is on the brink of the gravest economic crisis since the war's end, GUARDIAN's Gordon Schaffer reported:

> • **FOOD:** New cuts by Chancellor of the Exchequer Butler mean lower supplies than ever before in British history—with much of it certain to go into black market (half of home-produced eggs are sold on black market now). Prices of factory-canteen meals and of bread, milk and fish (plentiful but unrationed) are steadily going up.
>
> • **COST OF LIVING:** Official figure, just jumped another three points, does not show real extent of increase; e.g., clothing prices are down since textile slump, but statistics show people are buying less clothing because so much of their income is absorbed in necessities. Rents on houses and flats built since the war are going up.
>
> • **WAGES:** 1½ million shop assistants whose raise of a few shillings was stopped by the Labor Ministry get just over $11 a week. Furniture workers do little better; employers have denounced an agreement to give them cost-of-living raises.
>
> • **UNIONS:** In next few weeks they must decide whether to take strike action or accept falling living standards. Unions representing workers in shipbuilding and metals (on which the government heavily depends to increase British exports) agreed to postpone a month a strike ballot on employers' refusal to meet $5.60-a-week raise claim. The miners' right-wing pres. Lawther, under members' pressure, has said the union will not tolerate government interference with wage negotiations (their $4.20-a-week raise claim was rejected). Railwaymen, whose raise claims were also rejected, must also decide on action soon.
>
> All indications are that the Trades Union Congress Gen. Council will fail to get majority for "wages restraint" policy at next month's Margate conference; in any case, TUC decision can't bind individual unions.
>
> • **THE FUTURE:** Failure by both Tories and Labour to offer any solution for the dilemma made the economic policy debate in Commons empty. Only speaker to face the real problem was "Bevanite" former Bd. of Trade pres. Harold Wilson, who bluntly told the House there could be no recovery for Britain without drastic arms cuts, East-West trade, an end to dependence on U.S.

The Wall St. **Journal** in a chiding editorial saw the picture this way (8/15):

> Like a bride who didn't want to go down the aisle in the first place, Western Europe is now dragging her feet when it comes to the housework. That her major chore is her own defense in a dangerous neighborhood doesn't seem to make any difference. . . . [But] Uncle Sam can't be counted on to keep the cookie jar filled to the brim forever.

The puzzle: can Adlai solve it?

According to Howard K. Smith (CBS from London, 8/17), some of the West European mule's stalling was due to a desire to wait for the U.S. elections to get clarity on future Washington foreign policy. But as AP's Russell Brines noted (8/12), "Eisenhower and Stevenson have indicated they see foreign policy in much the same way." (Here is Stevenson's last statement on foreign policy, excerpted from **U.S. News** pre-convention interview 8/1):

> The basic point is that the hard fact of Soviet Communist imperialism presents a real danger to the free world now and for an indeterminate period to come. . . . I should expect that the Democratic platform will reaffirm every basic position taken by the Truman Administration. . . . I am opposed to the admission of Red China into UN; I regard it as a waste of time to speculate about a lot of hypothetical contingencies [concerning China's "defiance"]. . . . I believe in the maintenance in Europe of American forces for the period of time required to assure the protection of Europe. . . . I see no reason why, if the nations of West Europe can attain a sufficient degree of economic strength and stability, they should not ultimately provide all the ground forces necessary for their security.

THE GENERAL SPEAKS: In a first attempt at a foreign policy statement last week in Denver, Eisenhower said (N.Y. **Times**, 8/14) that

> . . . as President [he] would hold out the hope of obtaining by peaceful means freedom for the peoples behind the Iron Curtain in both Europe and Asia. . . . "It would be immoral and un-Christian to negotiate a permanent agreement with forces which by every religious creed and moral precept are evil. . . . The policy of mere containment is uneconomic and will lead to national bankruptcy." . . . He did not give any time when he thought the peoples behind the curtain might be freed, nor did he guarantee that it could be accomplished without bloodshed. . . .

Eisenhower in effect merely re-stated the Truman policy, without having any solution to suggest for its basic dilemma: the U.S. economy needs a war, but the allies without whom the war could not conceivably be successful face ruin in preparing for it. It remained for Democratic Presidential candidate Stevenson to solve if he could the puzzle of getting the W. European mule to move.

ATOMIC LIBERATION: Meanwhile the attempt to turn the peoples of the socialist countries against their governments continued as Truman appointed Adm. Kirk, former ambassador to Moscow and recently head of the Committee for Liberation of the Peoples of Russia, to head the Psychological Strategy Board. Kirk's job was to persuade the socialist peoples that the U.S., which completely surrounds them with A-bomb bases and whose press regularly publishes diagrams of how they are to be atomized, is their friend. On the day before the Kirk appointment, the N.Y. **Times** carried adjacent p. 1 headlines:

> • **BIG 5 ARMS PARLEY PROPOSED BY WEST IN UN COMMISSION—U.S., BRITAIN AND FRANCE ASK FOR TALKS ON REDUCTIONS & ATOMIC WEAPONS BAN.**
>
> • **$1,200,000,000 ATOM PLANT TO BE BUILT IN SOUTHERN OHIO—PROJECT TO STEP UP OUTPUT OF URANIUM FOR BOMB—3 TOWNS TO BE LEVELED.**

Heavily plugged in the press was a new line from Washington that Moscow has

> . . . a new line: the broadening of a long-established campaign against the political and military leaders of the U.S. to include the American people as a whole. (NYT, 8/17).

No quotes from any Soviet publication were being offered in support of this statement.

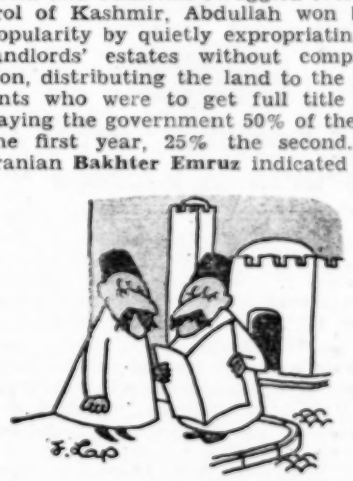
In Egypt it's money

After "strong man" Naguib dethroned king Farouk, an army tank was sent to mount guard on the Natl. Bank of Egypt in Cairo. The people might have got ideas.

Middle East: crusts for starving peasants

IN the poverty- and disease-stricken Middle East, "strong men" sought to keep their feudal countries within the "free world" by making small concessions, at least on paper, to the peasants' demand for land. Egypt's Gen. Naguib called for government buying of all farm holdings in excess of 200 or 500 acres; paying landlords in 3.25% treasury bonds; selling the land to peasants holding less than two acres who would pay the government in 30 annual instalments. In Iran Dr. Mossadegh proposed adding an extra 16% to the peasant's theoretical 20% share of the crops.

Whether such measures would satisfy the peasants was the unanswered question. In India, where the government's policy is similar to Naguib's proposals, the peasants have already compared it unfavorably with that of the Kashmir government of Sheik Abdullah. While India and Pakistan struggled over control of Kashmir, Abdullah won broad popularity by quietly expropriating the landlords' estates without compensation, distributing the land to the peasants who were to get full title after paying the government 50% of the crop the first year, 25% the second. The Iranian **Bakhter Emruz** indicated what



Canard Enchaine, Paris

"Is Farouk a heavy loss to Egypt?" "I should say so—330 lbs."

peasant reaction might be like in Iran—and in Egypt:

> In a country with 2,000 kilometers [1,250 miles] of frontier with a great Communist state, to maintain the status of the peasants as it is . . . is a kind of public suicide. . . . The danger of revolution will not disappear [until] peasants . . . are made owners of the land, when landlordism is restricted, and feudalism is destroyed. (NYT, 8/15).

"Call it a draw"—N. Koreans

IN Korea, where U.S. protege Syngman Rhee swept back into office again in "a shameful farce that passed for a presidential election" (**New Statesman & Nation**, 8/16), the U.S. continued its "get tough" policy. N. Korean Premier Kim Il Sung declared his willingness to sign a truce agreement ending the Korean war in a draw, but (NYT, 8/15)

> . . . warned that the North Korean armed forces . . . were able to fight a protracted war should the UN fail to come to terms.

No change was apparent in the Chinese-N. Korean morale picture as reported last November by an Indian goodwill mission to China. The mission said (NYT, 11/6/51) that although the Chinese had

> . . . no desire to fight the U.S. or any other power unless . . . Chinese interests were threatened, [in which case Peking] won't retreat an inch . . . [morale in Korea was] high . . . and they were continuing their government, industry and

(Continued on Page 4)

Korea: 26 months of war; 13 months of truce talks

U.S. Forces	Casualties	Dead
Reported as of July 11, 1951 (truce talks began)	78,636	13,176
Reported last week (as of Aug. 8)	114,685	20,167
Increase since talks began	36,059	6,991
Increase during last week's talks	375	80

In Rumania, it's people

"Behind the Iron curtain," the former royal residence in Sinaia, Rumania, has been transformed into a museum of art for working people who visit it by the thousands. Rumania celebrates this week the eighth anniversary of its liberation from Nazi occupation and domestic fascism.

(Continued from Page 3)

even a university settlement.

Chinese Premier-Foreign Minister Chou En-lai, accompanied by high military and economic officials, arrived in Moscow Monday for talks to "further strengthen the unbreakable cooperation between the two countries" under their 1950 Friendship Treaty.

Malan jails African leader

IN South Africa, where the Malan government has already in two months jailed over 2,500 African, Indian and Colored resisters to jimcrow laws, the police arrested Glasgow-educated African leader Dr. J. S. Moroka on charges of "promoting the objects of communism." After being fingerprinted, Dr. Moroka was released on $280 bail, pending trial on Aug. 26.

Commenting on Dr. Moroka's arrest, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, leading U. S. authority on African history and culture, said:

> **"If people could know the full story of the tremendous thing that is taking place in South Africa, I am sure they would eagerly welcome the opportunity of expressing their support through the petitions now being circulated by the Council on African Affairs (53 W. 125th St., N. Y. C. 27).**
>
> **"The very least we can do is to sign the petitions and get others to sign and contribute—and speedily. We must send funds without delay to aid the victims of the Malan regime's racist oppression.**
>
> **"If we cannot do that, if we will not help the Africans' fight for democratic rights, we have already lost half the battle for democratic rights here at home."**

PEACE

'Ban napalm' outcry grows in Britain

SINCE the Archbishop of York, England, recently condemned use of the napalm bomb in Korea, Britons of all classes and politics have taken up the issue; last week the campaign still grew to force their government to demand a ban on the weapon. To many the Archbishop's stand raised a further question: what should church members in Britain's armed forces in Korea do if ordered to use the weapon? **Peace News** (Aug. 1) asked:

> **What does the Archbishop say they should do? Would he have them refuse?**

From the Archbishop no reply was reported. But 750 persons overflowing a Preston (Lancashire) church for a Methodist Peace Fellowship meeting were told by Dr. Donald Soper, pres.-elect of the Methodist Conference:

> **"We ask ourselves what we may do when . . . we are plunged into the midst of war. Are we legitimately entitled to use the weapons of war? I want to say under the theology which I accept we are not.**
>
> **"I don't believe the Russians are peculiar people. I believe the Americans are as peculiar as the Russians. It is no good telling me the Red Dean [the Dean of Canterbury] is a scoundrel and you can't believe a word he says whilst a country like America is producing germs for germ warfare."**

MRS. KIM YANG SUN

London Worker reporter Winnington (who took the photo) thus describes her condition more than a year after she was napalm-bombed: "She can sleep for about half an hour at a time before being wakened by pain. After being burned she could not get up for five months."

"BURNING PEOPLE ALIVE": Another well-attended public meeting, held recently in London under joint auspices of Science for Peace and the Medical Assn. for Prevention of War, unanimously resolved:

> **This meeting deplores the use of the napalm bomb by UN forces in Korea, and urges the British government to declare itself opposed to its employment.**

Reginald Thompson, former Korea war correspondent for the conservative **Daily Telegraph** and author of **Cry Korea**, described the "deluging of people with this petrol jelly, regarding them as 'gooks' not real people," and warned that "if war spreads it will be an atom-bomb war, and this island cannot survive it." He doubted if "absolute proof" of U. S. use of germ warfare would ever be produced, but reverting to the napalm horror said:

> **"We are burning people alive in Korea. Surely there is enough going on that we know about to make us determined to take action to stop it as soon as possible."**

Dr. Michael M. Tempest, Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons and plastic surgery specialist, said burns caused by A- and H-bombs in a future war would be beyond the power of medical science to cope with; "appalled at the prospect," he demanded immediate banning of these weapons and of napalm which

> **". . . is being used now in the name of UN. Surely THIS was not the kind of purpose for which UN was created."**

ECONOMY

Arnall insists prices will rise sharply

WHEN steel companies were persuaded into a strike settlement by a $5.20-a-ton price rise, head price stabilizer Ellis G. Arnall predicted the consumer would pay $100 apiece for that "compromise." He forecast sharp price rises on all sides for the fall, then despairing of anything like price stability handed in his resignation.

Last week Truman had not yet accepted it. Returning to his desk from a visit to his Georgia home, Arnall repeated his dire forecasts, unconvinced by Agriculture Secy. Brannan and Commerce Secy. Sawyer who belittled possible rises. Arnall's argument seemed hard to beat. He said:

> **"After all, I sit at the desk signing enough [increases] made mandatory under the new economic controls law to know what I'm talking about. There seem to be two schools of thought in this country. One holds that prices are going to go down and are going to keep going down. The other school foresees a steady pattern of rising prices and wages which eventually will give us a country populated by 153,000,000 undernourished millionaires whose money won't buy the things they need."**

IT'S THE DROUGHT: Arnall predicted that the drought was still to be felt in consumers' pocketbooks where, with the drought as a pretext, the real "disaster" will occur with soaring food prices, particularly fruits and vegetables decontrolled last spring.

Here are samples of how some items have risen since lids were removed: soybeans up 22%, cottonseed 18.1%, corn oil 13.9%, tallow 7.1%, lard 4.2%, cattle hides and skins 19%, cotton yarns 4.6% (**Journal of Commerce**, July 31.)

THE LAST BUCK: An admission that the U. S. people are worse off than they were a year ago was contained in the 1952 Survey of Consumer Finances, published in the July **Federal Reserve Bulletin.** The survey showed median incomes had risen from $3,000 to $3,200 —7% before taxes—but that consumer prices, even according to Bureau of Labor Statistics which understates the rise, rose 9%. Conclusion:

> **Since personal income taxes also rose substantially during 1951 it is apparent that prices rose somewhat more than average disposable income.**

More people were down to their last buck too. In 1951, 28 out of 100 had no savings in banks or bonds. This year the number was up to 31.

The American Labor Party, citing examples like the end of federal rent control on Sept. 30 and the recently-approved 40% hike in the price of canned baby foods, has urged the President to call a special Congress session this year to enact effective price and rent controls. But predictions were that "Mr. Truman will decide that a special session this year doesn't make much political sense" (N. Y. **Herald-Tribune**, Aug. 17).

CIO News

Track 'em without radar

WHAT ACHESON SAW — AND WHAT HE MISSED

In Brazil the U.S. controls e

By Elmer Bendiner

THE airborne Secy. of State Acheson has publicly congratulated himself on his fine reception in Brazil. Details of that reception came to the GUARDIAN last week from Brazilian correspondents:

In Rio alone Acheson's effigy was publicly buried 20 times. He was "hanged" in other cities. In the downtown streets of Rio pigs were loosed with "Acheson" written on their flanks. When he went to Rio's press building for an interview he had to ignore a message painted in foot-high letters: "Fora Acheson" (Acheson, Go Home).

The Brazilians he conferred with undoubtedly accounted for the cordiality. He talked with Foreign Minister Joao

TRUMAN GREETS ACHESON
"Getulio sends his love"

Neves de Fontoura (also president of Compania Ultragas, Socony-Vacuum subsidiary); with Finance Minister Horacio Lafer (associated with duPont).

The rest of President Vargas' cabinet reads like a U. S. sales force: Labor Minister Sejadas Viana, before his present appointment, was a lawyer for Standard Oil of N. J.; Ricardo Jeffet, Bank of Brazil president, shares manganese mines with U. S. Steel; Education Minister Simons is connected with Electric Bond & Share Co.

A YANKEE SHOW: Brazil's government fluttering around Acheson reflects Brazil's economy. The land is owned by Brazilians, but controlled by the U. S. Coffee, owned by Brazilian planters, is exported under control of six U. S. companies which arbitrarily fix prices so that even pro-U. S. elements among the planters have protested. Brazilians plant cotton in their own fields but export and even internal marketing of seed and oil are in the hands of Anderson, Clayton. Armour, Swift and Wilson (with one British competitor) control not only the export of meat but its distribution in Brazil's large cities. Wheat mills are run by Bunge Corp. of New York. Chemicals are monopolized by Parke-Davis. Three-quarters of the nation's electrical energy, telephone, gas for home consumption are controlled by Bond & Share. The manganese of some provinces is earmarked entirely for U. S. Steel, others for Bethlehem.

But Acheson's visit to Rio was far more than a business executive's tour of a successful district office. He carried two problems in his briefcase: a military pact, and oil.

BUT NOT QUITE: Brazil's negotiators signed a military treaty with the U. S. four months ago but it still has not been ratified by Brazil's Congress. Both Vargas and his predecessor Dutra tried to push through bills granting oil rights to U. S. companies; both were stymied in Brazil's Congress. If the Brazilian pact follows the pattern set by Ecuadorian and Chilean pacts it might empty oil out the back way under the guise of emergency defense material.

Official State Dept. interest in overseas investments of the oil companies has long been on the record. In 1945 hearings before the Special Senate Committee investigating petroleum resources, State Dept. petroleum adviser Charles Rayner said the Dept.

> **". . . has therefore actively supported the efforts of U. S. petroleum interests to secure and consolidate concessions abroad. [He spoke of] the need for a strong foreign oil policy that fully recognizes our national interest in each of the oil areas of the world and promotes a program of action that is commensurate with our national responsibilities and our future security."**

At the same hearing Brig. Gen. H. L. Peckham, liaison officer between the oil companies and the War Dept., testified:

> **"I would imagine that our own oil companies right now consult the State Dept. before they acquire concessions in foreign fields or before they dispose of same."**

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

launches nationwide pe

ON Sunday Vincent Hallinan, after six months in McNeil Island penitentiary, stepped ashore at Tacoma a free man and running for President. The PP nominee was met by exec. secy. C. B. Baldwin and cheering delegates from Washington, California, Oregon.

People's World correspondent Terry Pettus reported that the prison launch was convoyed by the yacht "Patrick Henry," with pennants and welcome signs flying and Irish airs playing over the water.

With the delegation meeting Hallinan was Reuben Borough, Progressive candidate for U. S. Senator in Hallinan's home state of California. Hallinan told his greeters, speaking from a fishing platform on the pier:

> **"I never felt better in 20 years. It didn't hurt a bit. Before I went to prison I told the people that putting us behind bars would not weaken progressives a bit.**
>
> **"Believe me, friends, we take strength from the steel and the granite. All I want to do is to get to work. There's a lot to be done."**

He flew at once to his home town, San Francisco, where he is to speak Aug. 24. The Independent Progressive Party was preparing a mass meeting

ls everything but the people

AT YOUR DISPOSAL: During Acheson's stay in Rio, the monthly **Emancipacao** (Emancipation), "dedicated to the defense of the national economy," quoted the one-time head of the State Dept.'s Petroleum Division as revealing during those 1945 hearings that

> ". . . the facilities of the telegraphic code of the State Dept. are placed at the disposition of the oil companies for news which, should it be censored or stopped in other countries, may by its nature be disadvantageous to the commercial interests of the companies."

With Brazil's economy so thoroughly tied to U.S. big business, with the big planters and industrialists in the government saddle, with U.S. missions (under Point 4 or earlier "aid" plans) in every ministry, there might be some wonder why Brazil should need Acheson's personal troubleshooting.

The answer lies in the mood and organization of Brazil's people. They are closer to a forceful assertion of their independence than any other South American people. Brazilian industrialists, pressed by U.S. big business, disturbed by a barrier to industrial materials raised by U.S. war preparations, welcomed the recent Moscow trade conference. Eleven delegates, all quietly supported by government and press, went to Moscow. Brazilian working men and women rallied to the trade conference too, called it "the greatest setback to imperialism since Stalingrad."

WATCH OUT, A GENERAL: A year ago, when police broke up a demonstration for defense of the country's resources in the center of Rio, they found themselves swinging batons at four generals of the army and a staff of colonels. Unique among American armies the Brazilian army has a democratic tradition of siding with the people in a crisis. (It figured in the fight for independence and emancipation of the slaves.) The wealthy classes have always scorned the army.

When Vargas proposed sending 25,000 troops to Korea in March, 1951, he was stopped by a wave of demonstrations and strikes.

The working people of Brazil, driven by hunger from the land, seek work at miserable wages in the cities. (A pair a decent shoes costs a textile worker half a month's salary.) Spiraling prices on top of starvation wages have provoked strikes throughout the state of Rio Grande. Last week 1,000 demonstrators against high prices went to the police station of Rio Grande do Sul to

GETULIO VARGAS
A slum is named for him

demand release of 15 of their leaders. Police fired, two men and a woman were killed; some 20 wounded.

Brazil's Communist Party—illegal but powerful—elected in 1950 two congressmen, four deputies to the Federal District legislature. They ran on party tickets created for electoral purposes; five days before election announced themselves as Communists, listed the manifesto of Luis Carlos Prestes (Communist leader and national hero in hiding) as their platform, and won. One of the Federal District deputies since has been elected by the legislature as secretary and, as representative of an illegal party, uses a government limousine with government chauffeur.

VARGAS STREET: The illegal CP publishes 27 publications: dailies, weeklies, monthlies, factory bulletins. In 1945 it won a majority of the Federal District legislature and 15 seats in the Congress, is generally credited with greater strength now.

Had Acheson taken time to tour the wretched slum of the Favella Jacare Zinho, outside Rio, he would have seen rows of hovels with garbage draining in an open ditch down the dirt road. The residents have rigged up a street sign: "Getulio Vargas Street."

Hallinan is free; e peace campaign

at Los Angeles' Culver City Stadium Aug. 27, where its standard-bearers will for the first time be presented on the same platform.

40 STATES POSSIBLE: Hallinan took up his campaign amid brightening chances that the PP would appear on 40 state ballots. Last week Oregon held a convention of over 300 delegates, thereby qualifying for the ballot. Idaho's convention last week also counted well over the 200 delegates required there.

The New York ALP's convention, set for Aug. 28 at the City Center Casino, 133 W. 55 St., was to touch off the campaign with formal nomination of the Hallinan-Bass ticket and Corliss Lamont for state senator. Lamont's nomination has been unanimously recommended by the ALP's exec. committee.

Mrs. Bass brings alternative to Harlem

LIKE all Negro communities, New York's Harlem still struggles in the dilemma posed by the old parties' "sell-out" of civil rights. Rep. A. Clayton Powell has offered one answer: don't vote any national ticket. Last Wednesday Harlem heard another answer, on a Lenox Av. corner from an American Labor Party sound truck. The 400 or more Harlemites who gathered there relished Progressive Party Vice-Presidential candidate Mrs. Charlotta Bass's assault on "Cadillac leaders who tell us all is well on the western front." The only Negro and only woman candidate for top national office asked:

> "Are we going to continue to be fooled by these people [the old parties] who have used us as a balance of power?"

Fresh from a midwestern tour, she said that in Ohio her people had called out to her:

> "We are coming, Charlotta. We are coming two million strong."

If the Negro people protest the sell-out in that or greater strength, she said, then there can be no "lost vote" because "win or lose, we win."

AGAINST THE "MIDGETS": The crowd needed little convincing on the record of Democratic V.-P. candidate Sparkman. What plainly weighed heaviest on them was that fear of a "lost" protest vote. ALP chairman Vito Marcantonio reminded them of the protest vote for Debs in 1920 which, he said, led to the bigger vote for La Follette in 1924 and to the New Deal in 1932. Among the groups that gathered on the street after the meeting, one man asked hopefully: "Are they going to do this every Wednesday?"

On the eve of hard-fought primaries, the rally lent a platform to Senate candidate Corliss Lamont, who ridiculed "the midgets in the seats of the mighty"; to Congressional candidates Carl Lawrence, **Amsterdam News** reporter, who said: "I'm a Democrat. I'm not too ashamed of it. I'm here because I believe in freedom," and Andronicus Jacobs, rank-and-file longshore leader who told how Republocrats in labor as in politics tried "to box the Negro out."

BIANCHI CONFIDENT: Key figure in New York's primary contests was Sen. Wm. J. Bianchi, lone progressive voice at Albany who had waged a knock-down fight against the GOP machine backing wealthy red-baiting Dr. Charles Muzzicato. The contest, set for Aug. 19, came too late for GUARDIAN press time, but on primary eve Bianchi said he expected to win the GOP designation in what would be a nationally significant repudiation of GOP bosses by rank and file.

In any case Bianchi, running on an ALP ticket, would draw GOP votes after a brilliant first-term record of fighting for civil rights and labor legislation.

SPARKMAN'S "IDEALS": Labor officialdom, both AFL and CIO, seemed to have little difficulty in swallowing Alabama's Sparkman for V.-P. At Atlantic City the administrative committee of AFL's political arm, Labor's League for Political Education, decisively voted down the traditional AFL position against any political endorsements. (Last formal AFL nod was to La Follette in 1924.) Though the AFL exec. council invited Truman, Eisenhower and Stevenson to address their convention next month in New York, there was little doubt AFL would back the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket.

The CIO exec. board, meeting in Washington, endorsed the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket as an insurance of "unfaltering continuation" of "New Deal and Fair Deal traditions."

THE NEW WINDOW: Labor leaders' endorsements seemed unlikely to repair all the damage done to both parties by television, which for the first time had given voters a "window on the smoke-filled room." **The Nation** (Aug. 16), with that phrase as a title, published the TV impressions of a writer with the pseudonym Douglas Foster:

> ". . . What I saw convinced me that Republicans and Democrats alike were simply doing their best to camouflage steam rollers to look like band wagons and phony drafts to look like spontaneous calls to service, all for the benefit of the television audience. . . . Rarely have I sensed the unfolding of a secret plot so plainly as during those minutes of near-silence when the camera silently followed Big Jim Farley as he stalked from delegation to delegation, passing "the word." . . . The convention was a gigantic example of that proverbially American phenomenon, "the fix." . . . I wanted to jump to the rostrum and scream "Hoax! Hoax!" . . . I could not forgive America this fatuous exhibition of phoniness.

For a European impression of both conventions, see p. 1.

Max Gilgoff

MAX GILGOFF, 38, died last week in a Brooklyn post office as he was about to mail out election material for Mrs. Katherine Brown, Negro community worker and ALP Assembly candidate. He himself was running for Congress from the 11th C.D.

A teacher at Long Island City High School, Gilgoff had come under fire from the Board of Education as a result of his protest against police brutality toward Negroes, particularly the killing of Henry Fields. He leaves a wife and two sons.

Paul Trilling, chairman of the Kings Co. ALP, said:

> "There was no more courageous and selfless fighter for peace and democracy than Max Gilgoff."

The Teachers Union, calling him "as fine a scholar and as noble a man as one could find," said Board of Education witch-hunters "bear a certain responsibility in his untimely death."

MRS. BASS IN HARLEM
"We are coming 2,000,000 strong"

THE LAW

Fair trial 'impossible,' say political victims

SIX Smith Act defendants in Pittsburgh, Pa., were in court last week for hearing of pre-trial motions. Their main argument was that a fair trial on the charge of conspiring to teach and advocate overthrow of the government is impossible in that city.

Sanity corner

NEW YORK—When students register at N.Y. University during Sept., they will use forms from which questions about race and religion have been eliminated.

The change was hailed by the NAACP as a step forward in its campaign against discrimination.

After pressure from students in the wake of the fatal shooting by a guard of Enus Christiani (GUARDIAN, 6/12), NYU last week hired its first Negro guard.

Among the facts they cited: that three of their number are already under conviction of violating a state sedition law and one, Steve Nelson, is denied bail pending the appeal; they have been unable to acquire adequate counsel—700 Pittsburgh lawyers have refused to represent them: Pittsburgh jury lists are compiled from names submitted by big employers and by "respectable" organizations like the American Legion. On the jury question, proof was offered that no names are ever solicited from unions or from Negro, Jewish, Catholic or national group organizations. It is also a practice of big employers to "cooperate" by making up the difference of jury pay and the salaries of their employes chosen for jury duty.

CALIF. BAIL FIGHT: In California a popular campaign was under way to win bail pending appeal for 14 Smith Act defendants recently convicted there. Although trial judge William Mathes had been overruled by higher courts three times on the setting of bail at the start of the case, he announced himself "unreconsructed" on the question. By the end of the week, the U.S. Appeals Court announced it would review the case, ordered bail to be granted.

Officers of the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union last week urged labor support for the 14:

> Labor cannot rest easy at this persecution of an unpopular minority because labor is the real target. The Smith Act is but one of a number of anti-labor laws, designed by Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers' lobbyists for the purpose of silencing the people.

THE PRESS 'Liberal' L. A. sheet yields to witch-hunt, fires top staff man

LOS ANGELES

THE Los Angeles **Daily News** has many times heaped editorial scorn on witch-hunters of the House Un-American Activities Committee and those who knuckled under to them. Then it, too, knuckled under.

The **News** has fought sporadic crusades against police brutality and witch-hunting, for slum clearance and minority rights. Among the paper's crusaders was Vern Partlow, top rewrite and special assignment writer, former political editor, with the paper since 1940, up to last month engaged in a public housing expose.

Partlow is also an active leader of the CIO American Newspaper Guild serving on several contract negotiating committees; and a top-notch political balladeer whose "Old Man Atom" made juke boxes all over the country until Columbia Records withdrew it.

THE PURGE: Before Un-AAC witch-hunters, Mrs. Alice Judson Bennett, ex-wife of the **News'** ex-city editor, named Partlow as a "communist." Other witnesses named another **News** staffer Darr Smith, who had been with the paper since 1936 and, like Partlow, is a Guild leader. Smith had been let go during an economy staff reduction.

After they were named, Smith was dropped from the preferential hiring list; Partlow was called in, asked by management to take what amounted to a "loyalty oath." He refused, was fired. The L. A. Newspaper Guild unanimously voted to back both and followed contract procedure to the final stage: arbitration before Dr. Paul Dodd of the University of California at Los Angeles. Like the **News**, Dodd had won liberal acclaim by fighting against compulsory loyalty oaths on the campus.

The Guild argued that the firings violated the **News'** contract, the Guild constitution (which bars discrimination because of political conviction as well as race and religion) and the U. S. Bill of Rights. The Guild offered in support of its case **News** editorials chiding other employers for firing victims of the witch-hunt. Management agreed Partlow and Smith had never "slanted" a story, were identified with the paper's best campaigns.

LESSON IN "LIBERALISM": Last week Dodd handed down his decision upholding the firing. Summed up, his opinion—which may have far-reaching effects on what remains of U. S. press freedom—is:

- As a "liberal" paper the News is vulnerable to adverse criticism for retaining men like Partlow and Smith, publicly named as communists.
- Therefore the paper had the right to demand that Partlow clear himself, and Smith (who was never called in by management) had the obligation to come in "on his own initiative" to deny statements made about him.

Dodd declared the world is shaken by an ideological war which demands that all on our side stand up and be counted for "peace, private enterprise and freedom." Though ruling that Partlow and Smith could be required to "clear themselves," he denied that this interfered with individual freedom, freedom of the press, or that it sanctioned loyalty oaths.

On hearing the arbitrator's ruling, Partlow cited Thomas Jefferson:

> It behooves every man who values liberty of conscience for himself, to resist invasions of it in the case of others; or their case may, by change of circumstances, become his own. It behooves him, too, in his own case, to give no example of concession, betraying the common right of independent opinion by answering questions of faith, which the laws have left between God and himself.

CALENDAR

Los Angeles

TODAY'S NEWS ANALYZED with discussion in town meeting tradition. MARTIN HALL, every Monday night at ASP Council, 7410 Sunset, 8 p.m. GR 4188. Don.: 60c.

LET'S GO TO THE MOVIES FOR PEACE. Peace Film Center presents a series of 2 weekend film programs beginning Fri. & Sat., Aug. 15 & 16: "WIDE ROAD" and "LITTLE GREY NECK." Aug. 22 & 23: "COUNTRY SCHOOL" and "FABLE OF THE PEACOCK." 8:30 p.m. Dance Associates Studios, 5552 Hollywood Blvd. Adm. 75c incl. tax. For reservations call MU 1293.

Connecticut

BIG FARMER-LABOR PICNIC, Labor Day, Sept. 1 (12-9 p.m.), featuring FRED STOVER of Iowa, Nat'l. Farm leader, and Irving Dichter., IUMSW. Swimming, Boating, Food Fair, Picnic Dinner, Square Dancing. At Huntington Camp, on hilltop off Conn. Rt. 108, between Huntington & Shelton. Contrib. 50c. Sponsroed by PP Farmer & Labor Committees.

Newark, N. J.

RALLY TO SECURE JUSTICE IN THE ROSENBERG CASE. Thurs., Sept. 11, 8 p.m. 929 Broad St. Speakers: Rabbi Dr. Meyer Scharff, David Alman, others. Admission by invitation. For invitation write R. D. 2, Box 148M, Toms River, N. J.

MRS. MARGARET NELSON SPEAKS AT CONSTITUTION DAY RALLY. Wed., Sept. 17. Prince Hall Masonic Temple, 188 Belmont Av. Auspices: New Jersey CRC.

Chicago

HOLD OPEN SATURDAY NIGHT, SEPT. 6! Presidential candidate Vincent Hallinan coming! Temple Hall, 330 S. Marshfield.

34th WARD RALLY, Wed., Aug. 27, 8 p.m., Ferrera's Hall, 2507 Kedzie. Hallinan movie. Free refreshments. Hear Bill Miller.

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General

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Chicago

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White chauvinism: 'Let's get mad--and get on with the job'

Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson, Progressive Party candidate for Congresswoman-at-large from Connecticut, has sent us the following important letter to progressives with a request for early publication.

ENFIELD, CONN.

I'M just about fed up with white chauvinism: with endless manifestations of it—and endless discussions about it.

I have been fighting white chauvinism all my life, and intend to continue fighting it till I die. It is a problem that must be solved not only if we are ever to achieve solid Negro-white unity, but if we are ever to have normal human relations and peace in our country and in the world. I can get as mad as anybody over the infuriating (however unconscious) manifestations of it.

But I don't plan to spend 24 hours a day getting mad. A progressive has many grave and urgent problems which demand his attention and energy. If he spends full time struggling with only one of them, however important (and fighting white chauvinism is very important), he is a little out of balance.

GET MAD AND GO ON: Lately, at many meetings I've attended, discussions about white chauvinism have taken up a lot of time. I say discuss it, yes; always try to correct it, yes. But I want to get on with my work—so I plan to get mad, speak my piece in no uncertain terms, then go on to the next item on the agenda.

Every progressive, Negro and white, has a seemingly inexhaustible fund of stories illustrating white chauvinism. But I submit that we have more to do at our meetings than tell stories. A couple of stories, yes, if they illustrate a point about which there is ignorance or confusion. I would like to tell a story now. It happened at a rather important meeting in New York.

A serious-minded, middle-aged member with a long history of militant activity and loyalty had come there to listen to the speakers. Behind her were two much younger women who talked continuously. We

MRS. ESLANDA ROBESON

are all familiar with such people who come to meetings seemingly to visit with each other rather than listen.

The middle-aged woman, exasperated, finally turned around to the younger women and said: "Shut up!"

EXPLOSIVE ELEMENT: Good for her, you probably think. But you'd better be careful. The explosive element happened to be present. The older woman happened to be white, the younger women Negro.

Immediately the cry of "white chauvinism" was raised. The business of the meeting was interrupted, the rest of the evening was given over to a discussion of white arrogance, and the distressed and bewildered white woman was expelled.

Now I submit this was carrying things too far. I understand fully that the young Negro woman, and the Negro people, have had to take a lot of the poison of white chauvinism in our time, and are right to be on the alert for more of the same. But I do not think this was more of the same.

I also submit that the white woman, and all white people, have got to bear the burden of the long history of humiliating, insulting, arrogant, offensive and murderous behavior toward the Negro people. But I do not think this instance was more of the same.

INCREASING THE STRAIN: Let me make this clear: I am **not** inferring that all white middle-aged women come to meetings to listen, and all young Negro women come to visit. Interest and attention, thoughtlessness and rudeness, are found in every group.

But if we try to combat white chauvinism in this unreasonable way we will frighten many white people into chronic nervousness and silence, and encourage chips on the shoulders of some Negroes. Instead of building solid Negro-white unity we will increase, not diminish, the strained unnatural relations between Negro and white Americans. And these strained, unnatural relations are a real, practical problem.

THROUGH THE JUNGLE: Many white progressives ask me why more Negroes do not come out to their meetings, why they seem unable to make Negroes feel welcome. This is a very embarrassing question. It seems silly to have to point out at this late date that Negroes are people, and welcome is welcome, and when people are truly welcome they **feel** welcome.

Why, many white progressives ask, do not more Negroes join the Progressive Party, which is working for their interests? It seems silly to point out that most Negroes know what their best interests are, and if they are **asked**, not **told** what they are, there would be more meeting of minds.

Many white progressives complain it is hard to become friendly with Negroes. Again it seems silly to point out that anyone who knows how to make friends, and wants to take the trouble, **can** make friends—and friends can have any color.

There are no set rules in these matters: each individual has to work his or her way through the fascinating jungle of human relations. But thoughtfulness, knowledge of the background and history, sensitivity to each situation, human courtesy and warmth, and forthright admission of the terrible responsibility for past performance of white toward Negro—these will help remove the unseen formidable barriers.

LESSONS FROM LIFE: I trust no one will think I am minimizing the danger of white chauvinism, or hedging or appeasing or retreating. I am not. I may even be leading the procession against white arrogance and supremacy—in the large, that is, not in the details. For I believe that in this particular time in world history we Negro Americans will have to **lead** our white fellow-citizens in the struggle for peace, freedom and friendship in this new, One World. Not because I believe Negroes are superior, but because we are more experienced in the practical business of understanding, coping with and surviving restriction, double-talk and persecution than our white brothers and sisters.

We Negroes know that when the Republican and Democratic parties promise peace, security, democracy and freedom, they do not mean and never have meant these blessings for every one everywhere. That when they speak of equality they mean it only for those people and nations whom they arbitrarily select to designate as equal. That when they speak of democratic representation they do not mean it for the Negro people. We know what it means to be under siege. We have been, and still are, the victims of a Cold War against us, right here in the U.S. Sometimes this Cold War waxes hot, with bombs and bullets.

LEADERSHIP: An experienced, discerning white friend in Chicago said recently:

> **"We white people have never been under siege until now, and we don't know what to do. You Negro people have always been under attack; you have accumulated the experience we all need now; we hope you will give us the benefit of it."**

In this new world white colonials can no longer hide that they are the minority, and former colonial countries whose populations are mostly colored peoples are emerging as powerful and strategically important nations. One can well imagine that the Negro people, themselves greatly experienced in colonial treatment, are far better able to understand the sensitivities, hopes and problems of these billions of new world citizens. Therefore I say again, the Negro people will and should become the natural leaders in this new era.

Some years ago I remember trying to persuade Paul to accept a part in what then seemed to be a very good play. No, he said firmly, and I thought then too arbitrarily; I won't play the part of a Negro who fails, however magnificently, or dies for however noble a cause; the Negro I play must succeed, and live to lead, because that's what the Negro in real life is going to do.

As usual he was right—and as usual, somewhat in advance of the general trend; but where else should a leader be, if not out in front?

TALK — AND WORK: White people everywhere are going to have to overcome and live down the myth of white supremacy which has been so carefully bred into them for generations. When they have lived down this myth, and worked out a pattern of behavior fit for human beings, then Negroes will have to overcome and live down the suspicion, bitterness and hatred which white supremacy has engendered. This will not come overnight—but it will happen if we all keep working at it.

I am not a gradualist. I know we must keep fighting white chauvinism day after day, night after night. But let us fight it, work at it, talk about it every hour on the hour—and use the rest of our time for equally urgent matters.

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